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COMMERCIAL UNION

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

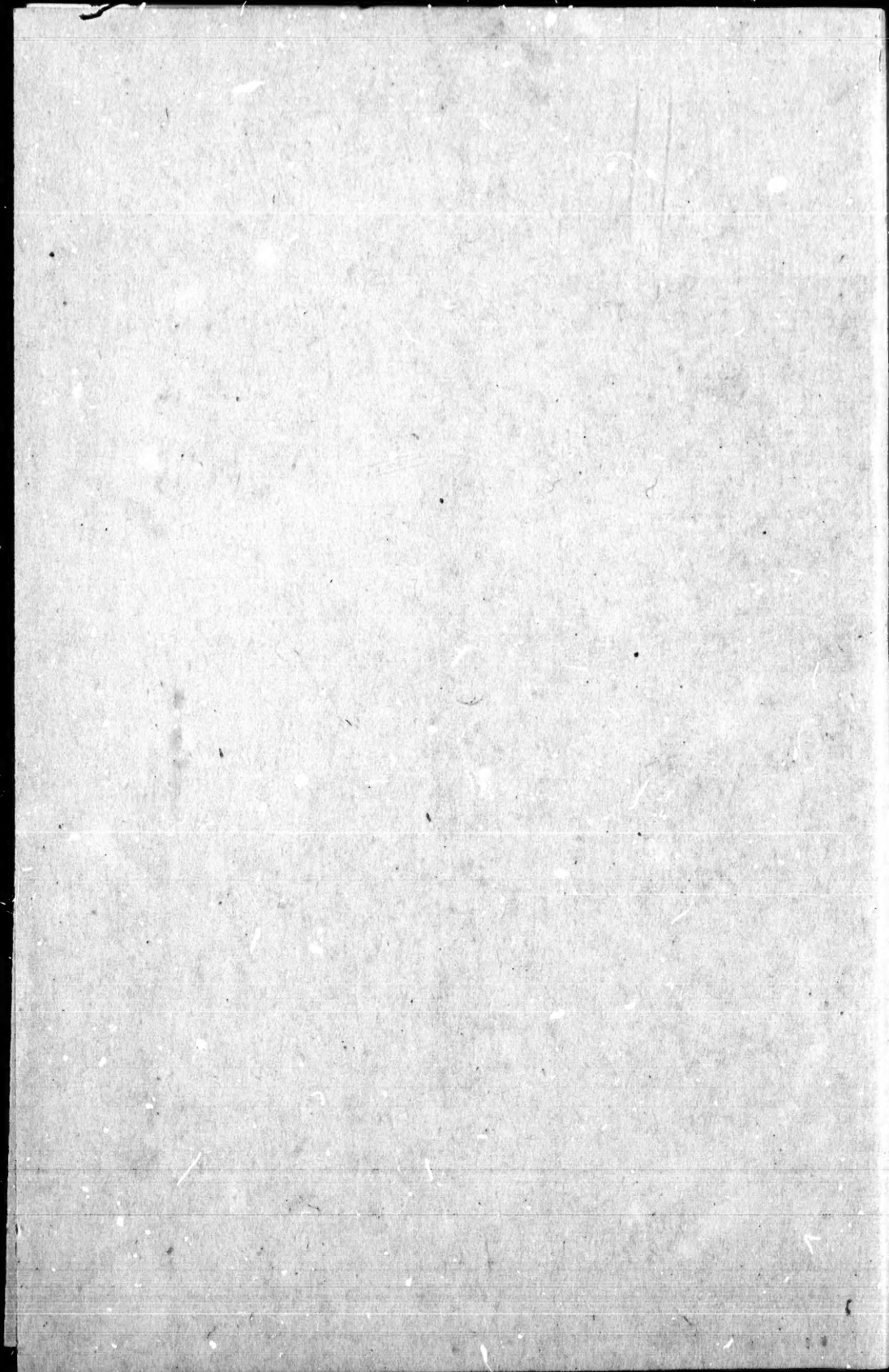
SPEECH OF ERASTUS WIMAN,

AT LAKE DUFFERIN, ONTARIO, JULY 1, 1887.

"To prohibit a great people from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they may consider most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind."—ADAM SMITH.

TORONTO:

PRINTED BY THE TORONTO NEWS COMPANY, YONGE STREET,
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COMMERCIAL UNION.

SPEECH OF ERASTUS WIMAN.

[The following speech was delivered by Mr. WIMAN, at a public reception tendered to him at Lake Dufferin, Ontario, on Dominion Day, July 1, 1887.]

MR. WIMAN said his first duty was to express his heartiest appreciation of the kindness done him by his old friends in the counties of Peel and Dufferin, in thus tendering him such a splendid public reception. It was always a matter of great pride that he was born in Canada, and to-day he was proud that he had been born in the county of Peel. After an absence of a third of a century, it was a matter of great gratification to be welcomed back again to his native place in a manner so hearty, with a demonstration so marked, and under circumstances so peculiar. It was, however, the peculiarity of the circumstances attending this welcome, that made the event possess anything of public interest. He was willing to believe that a few of his old school-boy friends and their neighbors might turn out on a holiday to meet their old friend, and he felt that perhaps the career he had tried to carry out in the neighboring republic, and the success he had achieved in some things, might be a justification for a dozen or twenty of them to come together and hear what a Peel county boy from abroad had to say. But there was something in the magnificent demonstration of to-day far beyond any personal tribute. There was a deeper and stronger sentiment animating the vast audience which had assembled, and many of whom had come from distances so great. There was not only a manifest desire to hear and understand, but an evidently strong disposition to demonstrate, by some action, an interest in the movement which had brought them together, namely, that of trying to procure an enlarged trade relation with the neighboring country. The circumstance was, therefore, peculiar, and the speaker was grateful beyond expression that, in his native county, and among his old friends, he should have an opportunity of setting forth what he conceived to be the enormous advantages of Commercial Union between the United States and Canada. The question had taken a deep hold upon the public mind, and it possessed it to-day to an extent that was most remarkable. There was something deeply interesting in its discussion; it was easily stated, easily understood, and the results were so vitally important to interests so vast, that really, next to one's own affairs, the subject had an attraction for individuals that hardly anything else possessed. It now formed in Canada the topic of discussion, to a greater degree than all subjects of a public nature combined, and yet six months had hardly elapsed since it was really proposed as a practical measure. All attempts to stop the discussion of so interesting a topic had failed. The worst motives had been charged to its promoters; and disloyalty, selfishness, ambition, love of notoriety, had been attributed to those who were advocating it. But these things were like the idle flutter of the leaves in the hurricane of public sentiment that swept through the land. A deep, abiding conviction had seized upon the public mind that this great question must be decided upon its merits. That, sweeping away all party considerations, and putting aside all selfish and narrow interests, the great broad question of the greatest good to the greatest number must prevail in a discussion of such a character. It was well that in the history of the country occasions should arise when men of all political parties should come together, and, for the public good, agree that a policy widely different from that of either of the great political divisions of the people should prevail. Politicians might, of course, be somewhat startled that the people were leading them, instead of the politicians leading the people. But, in this instance, as in all other great popular movements, the politicians were quick enough to discern the course to pursue, and would soon set their sails to the popular breeze, and be made instrumental in carrying into effect the expressed wishes of the people. It is true that in the last few weeks in Ottawa there had been little or no public discussion of the question of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States; but, the speaker ventured to

say that no other subject occupied so large a space in the private talk among members. To the exclusion of almost every other subject, it had been discussed day in and day out; and there was no doubt but that the greatest anxiety existed in the councils of both political parties as to the eventual effect which this question was likely to have upon the future of their respective organizations. All this showed how intensely important it was that the subject should be kept as far out of politics as possible; that it should be discussed on a scale of good to the country, rather than good to the party, that men of all parties, and all shades of political belief, should contribute of their best to its proper understanding, and, if found advantageous, to its promotion, at the proper time. It was one of those questions that could afford to stand or fall on its merits. It needed not the sponsorship of any party, and, yet would, of course, without the support of either party, never be effectual. What was most desirable is that it should have the support of the best men of both parties, and that, without possessing any political significance whatever, it should be thoroughly discussed; the subject thoroughly thrashed out, its whole bearing disclosed, its advantages revealed, its probable effects discovered, and, after a complete and perfect understanding of all points possible, the question should be decided in Parliament, not on party lines, but on lines of whether or not it was good for the whole country. If this could be done, the greatest advantage would accrue, and, for his own part, the speaker felt that the occasion which brought them together was a most significant one in the direction of a non-political discussion of the subject, for men of all shades of politics seemed concerned in promoting this demonstration, and he was glad to be told that those most interested in this matter differed most widely in their political affiliations and beliefs. Having thus endeavored to free the discussion from any political bearing whatever, Mr. Wiman said that the question of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States was an exceedingly simple one. At present both countries had a high tariff, and a line of Custom House officials along the border to enforce it. It was now proposed that, as between the United States and Canada, there should be no tariff whatever; that there should be no custom houses; and that the barriers should be completely obliterated that hitherto had prevented the freest intercourse between the two countries. The proposition, while so exceedingly simple in its statement, was freighted with consequences the most tremendous in its possible effects. It was a rare occasion in the history of communities when men should assemble to discuss a question so vast in its consequences as that of Commercial Union.

It was difficult to conceive of a topic of deeper interest, or of wider range, than that which changed the economic relation of two countries so vast as the United States and Canada. Recalling great events in history, their importance was measured by the consequences that resulted from them. Occurrences such as the Crusades, the Reformation, the English Revolution, the withdrawal of the American Colonies, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic wars, stood out on the historic panorama of the world, because of the stupendous consequences to mankind that resulted from them. Mankind almost universally were affected, and interests of individuals, of communities, and of whole nations, were shaped or moulded by the influences which sprang from these occurrences. Perhaps, of these events, that which affected the English speaking race, in a manner most visible to this generation, was the American Revolution. Consequences of moment almost beyond conception had followed in the Old World as a result of that great transaction. But in this New World, in this vast continent, productive forces were working out even greater consequences, these almost beyond human estimate. It seemed as if, in the unfolding of the Providence of God, the discovery and development of America was the one thing needed to fulfill the destiny of His creature man, for without this discovery, without this development, mankind would never have presented the aspect of material, intellectual, or moral progress which it presents to-day. The growth in all the forces that contribute to the world's progress, to human freedom, to the easy sustentation of human life, to good health, to longevity, to the growth of intelligence, to education, to literature, to religion in the present, and to eternal happiness in the future—the growth in all these forces has been immeasurably advanced by the development of a vast English-speaking people on the western shores of the Atlantic. It is unnecessary now to discuss whether this great development would or would not have occurred had the allegiance of the American Colonies been maintained with Great Britain. Whatever opinions may be entertained on that point, the fact remains that, up to this period, the United States have demonstrated to all the world, not only the power of self-government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but they have developed a degree of material progress far surpassing that of any other nation in the world. Notwithstanding many most serious draw-backs—notwithstanding a struggle for self-preservation unparalleled in history, the progress of the nation in all that makes nations great, in all that makes them rich, powerful, and influential, the United States to-day challenges the admiration of all the world. Not

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only, does she challenge the admiration of the world, but she attracts all the world. Emigration, such as the world has never seen, is this very year pouring people and their wealth into her ports; capital from all countries is here seeking investment; the best of skilled labor, the inventions of the ingenious, the highest forms of productive power from abroad, seek the shores where Providence, in its most broad and lavish way, has prepared a storehouse of resources in natural products for the benefit of mankind. In such weighty circumstances as these is found the results of the American Revolution—results so pregnant with the fullness of time, as to weigh down the power of belief, and, were they not unfolded before us, to almost tax the power of human imagination. Thus, the results of the American Revolution justify it as being regarded as one of the prime transactions of history, and, judged by its consequences, few events have occurred of greater moment to the world at large. Now, as associated with that grand occurrence, the question of commercial union between the United States and Canada has a visible connection; hence, the importance of the question which is now before you, and the significance of the occasion which causes men to assemble to discuss it. A transaction such as the American Revolution, followed by consequences to the world's history so stupendous, is the measure by which may be estimated a proportionate result to Canada if a commercial union between the English speaking people of this continent is consummated. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the people of Canada should rise to a just comprehension of the magnitude of the question before them. It is not only a question of to-day, or this year, or of the next ten years, but it is a question for all time. It is not a matter of present politics, nor does it affect protection or free trade. It takes in not only the present condition of the whole community, but their future, and the future of their children's children. Hence, commercial union should be approached in no dogmatic manner, in no selfish or small spirit, and conclusions should not be reached without careful consideration. To decide on a question of such magnitude as that of enlarged international relations with a country so vast as the United States, is like deciding on the question of predestination, regarding which, as you will remember Charles Lamb remarked, "That there was a good deal to be said on both sides." Having thus endeavored to impress his hearers with the magnitude of the question before them, and of the futility of reaching a hasty conclusion regarding it, Mr. Wiman proceeded to say that, while the world at large watched the progress of the United States with admiration, there was a general disposition to attribute their mar-

vellous growth to the form of government which prevailed. While due appreciation was afforded to the natural advantages which the North American continent possessed for the working out of the problem of self-government on the grandest scale, the general disposition was to attribute the material development of the continent to the genius of the people, because of their self-reliance, energy and hopefulness, as resulting from a republican form of government. How much or how little this had to do with it would be found by the comparison with Canada, who in the same period, under the wise and liberal rule of a monarchy, had also made substantial progress. In the splendor of her cities, in the magnitude of her public works, in the perfection of her means of communication, in the completeness of her educational institutions, in the intelligence of her people, and, indeed, in all that goes to make up the greatness of a nation, Canada to-day occupies a position of proud pre-eminence. She, too, has been working out in her own way the problem of self-government, and though she has been constant in her allegiance to the British crown, her people have enjoyed a freedom just as complete as those in the United States; her relative progress has been just as great, and her prospects, so far as future political condition is concerned, are just as safe, and just as enviable as those of the people of the neighboring Republic. The conclusion was, therefore, irresistible, that it was not mainly to political advantages that the United States owed their remarkable progress—it was not solely because the republican form of government possessed any talisman which a responsible government under the British crown did not possess. It was well that this could be said. It was providential that, side by side with each other, two great communities had grown up on this continent, representing the two great forms of government, so that the world could see, that under similar conditions of climate, resources, and geographical location, both schemes for regulating human affairs were being fairly tested under new conditions and on the grandest scale. All future time could take note of the results of the experiment, and if Canada were but true to herself, and availed herself of the advantages which the United States commercially possessed, and the acceptance of which was now under discussion, hers would be the destiny to teach the ages hereafter, that on the broad continent of free America, side by side with a republic speaking the English language, governed by English laws, and influenced by English literature, she worked out just as glorious a destiny under a monarchy, with British forms of government, imbued with British traditions, and permeated with British loyalty. There was one advantage, however, which

the United States had over Canada, which had nothing of a political character in it, and which, if it could be secured, would make success in Canada beyond a question. This advantage consisted of unrestricted commercial intercourse between all parts of the country. The absence of custom houses along the borders of the various States of the Union, as against each other, had done more to make the United States a great and prosperous nation, than had a republican form of government. The complete and unrestricted interchange of commodities between the great commonwealths on this continent, had contributed more than anything else to the building up of a great interior means of communication, and these arteries of commerce had served, in a greater degree than any other, to bind the people together, and enrich each other with the products and resources of each climatic condition, and the results of the genius or the enterprise of each locality. Next to the possession of vast natural wealth, it was freedom that made the United States the great nation that they now are—freedom in the highest form, as applied to man's transactions with man, freedom in the interchange of products, in the fruits of skill, or the fruits of enterprise. With an opposite policy, that of isolation of each State from the other, there would have been no progress in the United States such as the world has witnessed, and such as we in Canada, in common with all the world, rejoice and participate in. Many of these commonwealths are poor and sterile, some are sandy deserts, others are capable of producing only one or two great staples, and some are entirely without the absolute essentials of existence. Few are as self-contained as Canada, or possess one-tenth of her wealth. Yet, by a commercial union with each other, they are all prosperous, and all making such a development, such a progress in material growth, as to beget the largest hopefulness and achieve the greatest success. Mankind in no quarter of the globe have greater occasion to rejoice than the inhabitants of the meanest or poorest State in the great constellation of commonwealths that occupy the southern part of this continent. That they have cause for rejoicing is found in the fact, not that their own locality is rich in resources, or even self-sustaining, but that in the providence of God their commercial destiny was so shaped as to enable them to participate in the prosperity of more favored localities, without let or hindrance, and that by the free interchange of the rich products of a vast continent they all reap a benefit, and all share in each other's growth. With these facts before us, let us compare the results to Canada, of an isolation from the rest of the continent. Under a different form of government, with a distinctive nationality, and with the necessity for a machinery to collect a revenue, there has

prevailed, as between Canada and the United States, a commercial condition precisely opposite that which has prevailed between the various States themselves. The results to Canada have not been, on the whole, satisfactory, commercially speaking. It is true she has, in the main, made progress, and most satisfactory progress, the result of the great frugality and energy of her people, and because of the richness of her soil and the resources within her domain. It is true that her prosperity has been, at times, as apparently great as that of neighboring States, but it is equally true that her progress has been spasmodic, that it has been the result of large expenditures of foreign capital, and that her public debt, her provincial and municipal obligations, and, above all, the private indebtedness of her producers, have assumed alarming proportions. Of recent years the attempt to impart an artificial prosperity by means of increased taxation has, on the surface, made it appear that she was prosperous, but this has been followed by a very large expenditure for railway improvements, the result of which has been to develop vast regions of country. These expenditures have mainly been in the direction of a development that is most commendable, and have, beyond doubt, brought to within easy access stretches of territory hitherto so isolated as to be valueless. The increase in the wealth of Canada, in the last ten years, by the doubling of her railway facilities, is probably greater than that of any State in the Union, but the cost at which the investment is carried by the people of Canada may well be closely estimated. If she can, by an enlarged market, higher prices, and greater prosperity, carry this investment easily, and without seriously taxing the debt-paying power of her people, then these large outlays for the public good, and for private advantage, will bear profitable fruit. But if the heavy load of debt and taxation, now hanging over Canada, is to be borne in the face of declining prices, of a restricted market, and an embarrassed agricultural community, it would have been better had such investments never been made. The justification for a large investment in public works and railway improvements is that a large trade should follow. The heavy burden of debt which Canada has incurred is all right, if the traffic follows it in proportion to the extent of the facilities created. No one thing can contribute to that traffic so much as a complete interchange of products between the two countries, without let or hindrance. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway is one of the greatest achievements of modern times, especially following the completion, constant extension, and perfection of the Grand Trunk system. These two great arteries, with numerous other railways, possess Canada with a means

Canada and the United States, in addition precisely equalled the result obtained between the two countries. The results to be derived from the whole, satisfactory. It is true that progress, and most of the result of the great effort of her people, and benefit of her soil and the main. It is true that at times, as appears in the neighboring States, but progress has been made in the result of large capital, and that her social and municipal affairs, the private interests, have assumed a new life. Of recent years the official prosperity by which she has prospered, and by a very large improvement, the expenditure has been reduced by a development of a development, and have, within easy access, hitherto so isolated as to increase in the wealth of ten years, by the facilities, is probably the state in the Union, the investment in Canada may well be made, by an enlarged greater prosperity, easily, and without paying power of her outlays for the public advantage, will bear a heavy load of debt over Canada, is to declining prices, of a embarrassed agriculture would have been its never been made. A large investment in improvements is to follow. The heavy Canada has incurred is shown in proportion to the facilities created. No doubt that traffic and change of products, without let or of the Canadian of the greatest times, especially constant extension, and Trunk system, with numerous Canada with a means

of communication within itself and a connection with the United States, of the greatest magnitude and importance. The wonderful system of waterways, with which nature has blessed the Dominion, have been amplified by vast expenditures to connect them one with another and to make them available. The Canadian farmer is, to-day, paying the interest on this investment. No one thing could happen which would benefit to a greater degree the Canadian taxpayer than the stimulation of the trade which will thoroughly occupy these means of communication. The contention is, that a complete interchange of products between the United States and Canada would contribute more in that direction than anything else. A development within the Dominion itself would stimulate the traffic, and increase the tonnage of the railways enormously. An equal development from outside would help in the same direction, and railways, canals, telegraphs, and every other avenue of communication and transportation would be benefited by the activity which would result. The heavy load of taxation, which Canadians have to bear, can only be justified by eventual results in the shape of profit from the operation of the facilities created by the public expenditures. These profits would certainly be largely augmented by an increased demand for what they have to sell. The increased demand will certainly be the result of obliterating the barriers which now prevent these products from reaching a market so great as the United States. If, in the providence of God, one had looked forward to the creation of a market full of advantage, nothing could have been planned which would better suit Canada than the market which in the Union has been provided. Take the matter of contiguity as a first advantage. Starting at Nova Scotia, and going to British Columbia, Canada lies alongside of centres of population that are at once the most opulent, the most progressive, the most liberal, and the most extravagant communities in the world. The fertile fields of Nova Scotia teem with a power to produce. Regular communication already exists between them and the great city of Boston. All along the Nova Scotia coast steamboats, ships, and railways afford opportunity for transportation of the cheapest, the most frequent, and the most effective kind. Nova Scotia is a region which will produce enormous quantities of products such as New England wants. New England, the most densely populated portion of the United States, is comparatively barren of agricultural advantages, while her people are so occupied in other pursuits that they cannot give attention to the production of that which sustains life; hence, supplies are drawn largely from the West, and in such

minor articles as eggs, poultry, butter, potatoes, fruits, vegetables, and all the variety of products which Nova Scotia supplies in such profusion, are in the best demand, at the highest prices. Any reasonable man, looking at the map, and knowing nothing of the economic relations that exist, would immediately conclude that Providence had intended New England to be supplied with these products by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But this natural law is set aside by governmental interference and taxation.

Coming Westward, Mr. Wiman said, one is struck with the meagreness of the success of the French Canadian, in his attempts at progress, yet, in all the world, there is no class of people so well adapted for successful manufacturing as the French Canadian. His industry, frugality, and contentment are proverbial. The best evidence of the usefulness of this element of our population as a manufacturing class is seen in the fact that nearly two-thirds of the population of many large centres in the United States are found to be French Canadians. So much so is this the case that the French Canadian colony in the United States will, in the course of a few years, exceed in number the French Canadians left in Canada. Now, why is it that these men cannot be employed in Canada itself, at Montreal and other centres, for the purpose of manufacturing, and then send the goods to the United States instead of exporting the men themselves and giving all the benefit of their industry and frugality to a foreign land. Montreal is so situated that she ought to be one of the greatest centres of manufacturing industry in the world. She has abundant water power, abundant access both by sea and land and canal to the markets of the world for raw materials. She has, to the west of her, means of communication of the cheapest, most rapid, and most effective character. Providence and man have both contributed to afford to her, the very perfection of facilities for manufacturing everything needed in the great West and North West, of which she ought to be the entrepot. Had there never been any division of this continent, and had the whole of Canada been included in the Declaration of Independence, Montreal would be to-day the grandest city on the continent. New York has not one tithe of the advantages possessed by this great Canadian city. Even if the line of political demarcation had been the St. Lawrence, and even had the St. Lawrence been a free navigable stream, Montreal to-day would have exceeded in growth any city of the continent. If commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity, gives all the benefit which the obliteration of the political line would have afforded, there is no earthly reason why, with all the advantages she possesses, she should not be fifty years hence the greatest centre

of manufacturing activity in the world. She has about her and within her borders the best class of population for manufacturing purposes: she has within easy hail of her nearly every article of raw material which goes to make up these manufactures. What are the elements which go to make up the bulk of manufactures? They are wood, iron, water, coal, and labor. Does not Montreal possess all these in the most remarkable degree? Almost within sight of her; on the one hand, are forests with sixty different varieties of wood; on the other hand, hills of iron; within easy hail, the coal of Nova Scotia, and with the St. Lawrence flowing at her feet for water power. She has means of communication unparalleled, and a people, frugal, contented and industrious. What other advantage can she have except that which is now offered to her, viz: the freest access to the greatest market the world has ever known. What is true in regard to Montreal applies with equal force, in proportion, to all other manufacturing centres in the Dominion. This brings us to the hostility which the proposal of commercial union has met with at the hands of the manufacturing class in Canada. Mr. Wiman said that it had always seemed to him that the chief difficulty which the manufacturing community in Canada had to encounter was the exceeding smallness of the home market, so that any attempt to stimulate industries would either beget monopoly of the worst kind, or result in disaster from undue competition. Nothing would benefit the manufacturers so much as an open new market in which they could find an outlet for their products. With the advantages which Canada peculiarly possesses they could compete successfully for the trade of their own locality and for their share of the trade of the entire Union in their special lines. What is it that the manufacturer of the United States has which the Canadian manufacturer has not? It is not a fact that three-fourths of the raw material which is used in nearly all kinds of manufactures are possessed by Canada in the largest degree? The raw material which lies within the borders of Canada, and which is available at all manufacturing centres at the minimum of cost, gives to the Canadian manufacturer the maximum of advantage. Take, for instance, the great number of industries in which iron is an element. Would not, under commercial union, the iron mines of Canada be developed, and made immediately available for the manufacture of every article in which iron forms a part. Take the great range of manufactures in which wood is the chief element, such as furniture, agricultural implements, &c. Why should not all these things be most advantageously produced here, where freight is at the cheapest, and the natural products within such easy success. Take boots and

shoes, in which labor forms so large an element. They ought to be made in Toronto, Montreal, and Hamilton, to much better advantage than at Haverhill or Lynn, if the cost of production has anything to do with the matter at all. Even in the great cotton manufacture, are not Cornwall, Thorold, and Dundas just as well located as Fall River or Providence? The cost of carrying cotton or coal to Cornwall is no more than to any New England centre. Is there any occult or talismanic power possessed by the manufacturers of New England that is not equally possessed by the manufacturers in Canada, surrounded as they are with every advantage which nature and locality can afford them?

Referring again to the advantages of contiguity from an agricultural point of view, Mr. Wiman insisted that no greater boon could be conceived of than that which located Canada alongside so great a market. He had started out to sketch these advantages, commencing at Nova Scotia, but striking the population in French Canada he had been tempted to allude to manufacturing because in that direction he foresaw an enormous development as the result of commercial union with the United States. Coming west, however, into Ontario, it did seem to him that the grandest possible boon for the agricultural element in his native Province would be the freest possible intercourse with the United States. A long residence in New York and a constant contact with the people of the American nation, had imbued him with the belief that no people were so well adapted to be consumers of the products which Canada had to offer. Rich beyond compare in the elements of enterprise, productive forces, and inventive genius, incomes in the United States had reached a point far in excess of those of any other people in the world. There are more people in New York who had \$10,000 a year, or \$200 a week, to spend on their living than in all the rest of the world beside. There were more people rolling in wealth in the cities of the East and the West than had ever been dreamed of in ancient days (or proportionately to numbers) in France, England and Germany. The rank and file of consumers were in a better financial position, were more liberal in their expenditures, and had greater absorbing power than any other people. Now, this class of people want the products of the soil of the best character, and no region was better calculated to produce them than the Province of Ontario. The talk that, because Liverpool regulates the prices of the world, and as the surplus of the United States are sent in that direction, no advantage would come to Canada if the markets of the United States were open to Canadian products has been most freely indulged in; but this does not allude to the hundred articles that never

reach Liverpool. Take, for instance, eggs, which are admitted free into the United States, and the result is, as Mr. G. B. Smith, of the Toronto Board of Trade, said at a meeting of that body lately: "The hens have done more for Canada than the manufacturers have done." Fourteen million dozen of eggs have gone from Canada into the United States during the last year because they were admitted free. The traffic in eggs has grown to such an extent that gathering them for shipment in such counties as Waterloo has grown to be a regular branch of business. Eggs are about the only thing admitted free of an agricultural character. Suppose that the traffic in poultry were equally easy. Have you ever heard what a broiler is? asked Mr. Wiman. A broiler is a spring chicken more or less old. There are more "broilers" produced in the State of Pennsylvania than any other article of agricultural production. The demand is not half supplied. If Canada went into the chicken business, and did nothing else but produce "broilers," turkeys and ducks, and if every farm in Canada was covered with this class of food, it is believed that they would all be absorbed by the United States at prices that would pay a high profit. But it is not in eggs and chickens alone that the Canadian farmer would find his greatest profit. Take lambs for instance. There is not a household in the Middle States but once or twice in the week desires to have some lamb. This delicacy and green peas, with mint sauce, is, as you all know, one of the greatest delicacies known, and there is no earthly reason why thousands upon thousands of lambs should not be produced and exported from Canada to the United States. It is asserted by well known agriculturists that Canada possesses in a peculiar manner the greatest advantages for sheep farming, and that early lambs are just as easily produced, and are just as good an article, as any to be had elsewhere on this continent. The United States will absorb it all at a high rate of profit. But aside from eggs, poultry and lamb, there is no market better than the United States for fine high grade butter, and nobody can produce it so well as the Canadian farmers. Philadelphia butter is sold in New York throughout the winter at 80 cents a pound, and 50 to 60 cents is no extraordinary price for creamy butter. Here is a demand upon us for high grade butter from ten to fifteen millions of people at our very doors. The creameries of Canada are but in their infancy; but, with commercial union, hundreds of them would spring into existence to meet the demand which would arise. It is true that a good deal of butter is now being made, and it is true that in Liverpool the price is more or less regulated; but, if a high grade of butter, such as Ohio and Pennsylvania yield, could be produced in Canada, there is no rea-

son why more than half of all Canada could manufacture would not be sold in the United States, not at Liverpool prices, but at a price 10 to 15 cents per pound in advance of that. In speaking of incomes, Mr. Wiman said he knew lots of people with incomes of from \$50,000 to \$100,000 a year. Was it to be supposed that this class of people thought anything of 10 cents per pound on butter, or 50 cents extra on a pair of chickens? It never enters into the calculation of the average New Yorker what his living costs him. There is not a merchant in Broadway, or Church Street, or Fourteenth Street, or in Brooklyn, or Boston, or Buffalo, that ever thinks for an instant of such a trivial matter as the price of living. There is not one of that vast number but is willing to pay the highest price for a good article, and the contention is that Canada possesses to an eminent degree the power to produce profitably these good articles. It is certain that in the matter of these and various other articles of consumption, the nearness of the market, the low freight, and the great productive power of the Canadian fields and farms, with the thrift and industry of the people, would give them advantages far in excess of those possessed by almost any State in the Union. States like Georgia and Mississippi, vast in their productive forces, have not a tithe of the advantages which Canada possesses. Even Illinois and Missouri, rich as they are in all material resources, are not as near to the great markets of the East as Canada, and do not possess, as she does, variety of soil and climate suitable to the production of these salable products.

Then, take the article of fine cattle, in the production of which Mr. Valancy Fuller has distinguished himself. He is to-day the most distinguished man in America in the production of Jersey cattle, because of his natural skill and ability, his courage, and command of means. He has made himself a name and fame in the highest degree creditable to him. In New York the other day, Mr. Wiman went on to say, that he stood at Mr. Fuller's side, and some of the greatest authorities in this business of producing fine cattle said that they lifted their hats to the Canadian boy who had taught them how to breed successfully the finest cattle. One felt proud of a land which produced not only such men, but such cattle. They had heard the story, no doubt, of that wonderful cow, Mary of St. Lambert, which, only six years old, has produced thirty-six pounds of butter in a week. They could fancy what that meant, and then remember the craze that existed in the United States among the higher farmers for cattle of that grade. If once the barriers were removed which hindered breeders in the United States from getting access to the herds of Canada, Ontario would become one

of the great cattle producing countries, and the highest prices could be realized. The absorptive power of the vast aggregations of humanity accessible to Ontario in the United States for even the lower grades of cattle is evident. It was not to be supposed that the ranges of Texas, New Mexico, and Wyoming, could for an instant compete with the rich pasturages of Ontario in producing the finest grades of cattle, cuts from which adorned the Sunday dinner tables of one hundred thousand homes in New York and Philadelphia, where the element of cost in such matters was not thought of at all, and if it were thought of, Canada has the advantage in contiguity and cheap productive power over all comers.

The trade in horses between the United States and Canada, was during the war one of the greatest contributing elements to the prosperity of this country. To-day, many a farm house stands which was largely paid for by the prices realized for good horses during Reciprocity and during the war. The demand for horses to-day is ten times what it was during the war. There is no man of any consequence who does not keep from one to three horses, and no people think so much of fast horses. The cavalcade in Central, Fairmount and Prospect parks are a revelation to the beholder as to the love for horses in the United States. There is no reason why Canada should not produce ten horses where she produces one now. She possesses every advantage in the way of contiguity, pasturage and area. If the Custom House were removed, and a man could run up to Canada from New York and look over a string of horses, as he now does at Bulls Head and other places, ten horses would be sold where one is now marketed. If, with the improvement in breed through the importation of the best strains, there was an equal attention paid to the development of speed by the encouragement of racing, and, at the same time, proper attention given to the production of draft horses, such as the Clyde and the Percheron, there would be no limit to the number of horses that would be produced and sold.

Then, take the article of Barley. The introduction into the United States of the Teutonic element in such vast numbers had created a wonderful demand for beer, which required an immense amount of barley, which was yearly on the increase. This barley can be produced to greater advantage in Canada than anywhere else, the climate and soil being extremely favorable to it. Were the barriers down, its nearness to the places where the great breweries are, such as Buffalo, Milwaukee, Chicago, Toledo and New York, would insure a market at all times of the largest proportions. The duty of ten cents on barley is a barrier in many ways, and if it

were entirely abolished, the production would be stimulated and the demand constantly augmented. Even if the price did not advance, the possibility of selling double the amount would be an advantage of the greatest consequence, Canada possesses to-day in Barley, one of the cleanest and most satisfactory of products and no advantage could be so great to the growers as its introduction into the best markets free. There is no denying this, and no argument can confute it. In this and in all other things, Canada should have the freest and most complete intercourse with her neighbor.

AS TO IRON.

But of all articles in which Canada is rich by nature and poor by policy iron takes the lead. Look at the immense iron deposits of Nova Scotia, of Quebec, on the line of the Ottawa, on the St. Lawrence, and in the Eastern Townships; all along the line of the Kingston and Pembroke Railway, and on the Central Ontario Railway, clear through to Lake Nepissic, on the north shore of Lake Superior for 300 miles; on Lake Winnipeg, on Big Island, on Vancouver's Island, all lying dead because you are walled out by a tariff. While, in the United States, the greatest activity prevails in iron, and fortunes are made yearly by its development, we poor unfortunates in Canada make not a dollar. While hundreds of thousands of people are employed in the neighboring country in the development of iron and in its manufacture, we, who are blessed with abundant stores of it, and with every facility for its production, are without a particle of advantage. Suppose the same activity prevailed in Nova Scotia at Stellarton and at Londonderry, where coal and iron lay side by side as prevails in Pennsylvania, would there not be such prosperity in Nova Scotia as the place never knew. Suppose up the Trent, and back of your dear old Kingston, the same vitality existed as now prevails on the south Shore of Lake Superior, what do you suppose would be the result? Why such a home market would be created as would absorb agricultural products as much again as is now absorbed by the market created by manufactures. Suppose 50,000 miners got to work in the ten years of free commerce with the United States, what greater gift could come to the farmers of Canada? Remember, too, that these men may come to be your customers without taxing your substance to support them. The manufactures of Canada are doubtless a great blessing to you; it is true they make a home market for your products to some extent. But every dollar of produce you sell them, you are taxed twenty-five per cent. for their support. But with the full development of the natural resources of Canada no such a tax would be necessary. The wealth that they would bring into the Dominion by the sale of the article

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they develop would be added to the wealth of each of you individually. What better heritage could be left to your children who will take your places on the farms of these counties than a near-by market in the United States for all they can produce, and a home market within the Dominion itself, as the result of the development of our natural resources. But it is not the farmers alone that would benefit by the development of the mines of Canada. The manufacturers themselves, some of whom are now so alarmed in their mistaken view of the possibilities of commercial union, would be enormously benefited. What better chance would be afforded all manufacturers of iron than to have the raw material within easy access; What better chance would be afforded to the man who makes collars and cuffs, or he who makes boots and shoes, than to have thousands of working men employed in those vast regions throughout Canada now silent and desolate and yet whose riches are beyond estimate. You may well ask for more details as to those deposits, and why it is that they have not been heretofore developed. Let me read you, boiled down into twenty lines a little catalogue of Canada riches in iron taken from the essay of my good friend John McDougall, of Montreal, read last winter before the Canadian Club. He says:

"Iron is found in all the Provinces and Territories of the Dominion in unlimited quantities; the country is pre-eminently rich in the ores of iron of every kind, and of the highest grade, equalling the Swedish and Russian in quality, and is adapted for every purpose that iron and steel are used for. Nova Scotia is the richest in iron ores, and they are in close proximity to almost unlimited quantities of coal. New Brunswick has extensive deposits of iron ores in Carlton county, and bog ores in Queens, Sunbury, Restigouche and Northumberland counties. In the Province of Quebec, near the city of Ottawa, there is a hill of iron which has been estimated to contain 100,000,000 tons. The Faycock mine is situated eight miles north-east of the city, and it has been estimated that it could yield an output of 100 tons of ore per day for 150 years, without being exhausted. Very valuable deposits of iron and bog ores are found in many other parts of the Province. The Province of Ontario has enormous deposits of iron ores of a superior quality; many rich beds have been found in Manitoba and in the Northwest Territories. British Columbia is exceedingly rich in iron ores; many of the deposits are found along the coasts and islands, lying side by side with bituminous coal of good quality."

Did you in all your life ever hear read within so short a compass such a weight of wealth as these few lines express? Well may Emerson have said "America is another name for opportunity. Its whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence in behalf of the human race!" For we here in Canada seem possessed with even more than our share of this vast gift of Providence.

There is no other metal, of so much impor-

tance to the material progress and prosperity of any country as iron, and when we consider the enormous amount we are importing, viz., an average of \$20,000,000 per annum, since Confederation, making an aggregate for 20 years of \$400,000,000, it is high time for us to begin to consider what we can do to help forward the development of so much wealth. How can we best do this? What single step would soonest develop our vast mineral resources. The first and best, and indeed only, hope for their development, is that a free market may be created for them. This can only be done by unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. The Canadian market is too small for investment in mining operations, and it is only such stimulating efforts as Parliament has just completed, that even a single enterprise of this character can be promoted. To do this every farmer in the land, every builder, every blacksmith, indeed every consumer, has to be taxed by an increase in the revenue exacted at the Custom House. But with a free market in the United States, American capital would quickly find its way to Canadian iron mines, and do for them what it has already done for the mines of the United States. Some figures as to the activity of the iron made in the United States will give you an idea of what as the years go by Canada is missing. What think you will be the product of the American mills for this year, in the single item of steel rails alone? It will more than reach 2,000,000 of tons, an amount sufficient to lay more than double the entire mileage of Canada, and sufficient to lay a continuous line of rail clear around the globe. Has Canada any share in this prosperity which exists just across the border line? Not a dollar. Why? Because she has not a market. The tariff on pig iron coming into the United States is \$6.75 per ton, and on steel rails it is \$17 per ton. One cannot climb over this. A market is open into England, but she does not want any of this class of our products, either in a raw or manufactured state. Our population is too small to consume it ourselves, and we have either to face the conclusion of getting the United States for a market, or allow our wealth to lie in the earth, as nature has in the most lavish manner stored it away for us. Recall the isolation, the barrenness of Canadian iron regions, and contrast them with the activity of the upper peninsula of Michigan, whose total value of money output in 1883 was over \$24,000,000! Listen to the story of one or two mines as told in the following extract from a report on the Gogebic region, Michigan, a State just next door to Canada:

"The Menominee Mining Company was organized ten years ago, on the modest capital of \$100,000, which, notwithstanding the extent of its operations, which cover the working of six mines, has never been increased. The company has already paid to its stock-

holders \$6,500,000! So great is the appreciation of its shares that a single one has sold as high as \$6,750, upon a par of \$100! The total output of its mines for the seven years up to 1883 was 1,569,929 tons. Take, for example, a stockholder in the Republic Company, who bought his shares when they were at their lowest and held them. He may have purchased the original stock at \$12, on a par of \$25, and possibly lower. From that point it rose to \$325. Then the capital was increased from \$500,000 to \$2,500,000, and the stock rose as high as \$67, or \$335 a share for the old stock. This profit does not take into account the enormous dividends that were being paid in the meantime, frequently more than one hundred per cent. The stock of the Cleveland Company has sold as low as six or seven dollars. From those figures it advanced to about \$250. The company made an increase of capital similar to the Republic's, and its new shares sold as high as \$40 and as low as \$14; its present price is about \$20. But aside from the fluctuations of the market the steady holders of Cleveland have enjoyed much larger returns than they could get out of any other security. During the past six years this company has paid two dividends of 80 per cent. and one of 120 per cent. The Lake Superior Company is another mine that has made its stockholders rich. The capital of the company, originally half a million, was increased to \$1,500,000. The quotation of the new stock has ranged from \$33 to \$80. The old sold as high as \$400, we believe. The Lake Superior is one of the big dividend payers, and the steady holders of its stock have been unable to get Aladdin's lamp out of their minds!"

Now, what is the difference between the iron of Michigan and the iron of Canada? Why is it that on the south of Lake Superior such stupendous results have been achieved from iron mines, and north of the lake there has been nothing done? The answer is simply that there has been a free market among sixty millions of people for the one and no market whatever for the other. If commercial union is achieved, Canadian iron properties have just as good a chance as the mining properties of the United States; indeed they have better. The great consumptive centres can be more readily reached from Stellarton and Londonderry, in Nova Scotia, from the Ottawa regions, from the Trent valley, along the line of the Central Ontario and the Kingston and the Pembroke road, than from the peninsula of Michigan. The consequences of such an opportunity to develop our resources are simply enormous, and the individual opening afforded no one can over-estimate. Let me tell you the story of two families of two Scotchmen in the United States, and what they have done in the iron trade:

A little more than forty years ago Henry Chisholm landed in Montreal, with his wife, from Scotland, with a single sovereign in his pocket. With true Scotch thrift, he proceeded at once to work. He lived in Montreal for a number of years, during which time a number of sons were born; but the United States seemed to offer greater opportunity to provide for his growing family, and

he removed to Cleveland, Ohio. There he engaged in the building of docks on the river and lake fronts, and finally engaged in the manufacture of iron. From this small beginning grew the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company. At the time of Mr. Chisholm's death, some three or four years ago, he had more than five thousand operatives in his employ. His three sons, all Canadians, and all thoroughly trained by him, succeeded him in the business, and the product of this firm last year reached the enormous sum of \$12,000,000. These are some of the items which comprise this aggregate:

100,000 tons Steel Rails..	\$3,600,000
150,000 tons Pig Iron.....	3,000,000
50,000 tons Merchants' Steel, boiler plate and sheets.....	2,750,000
40,000 tons Wire.....	2,400,000

With an increased output and an advance in prices, their business will this year probably reach the high figure of \$15,000,000, a sum equal to the whole earnings of the Grand Trunk Railway, a corporation of 40,000 shareholders, and at least 50 per cent. more than the whole earnings of the Canadian Pacific Railway, to which you have donated more than \$100,000,000. All this was the growth of a little more than twenty years, and the efforts of a poor, determined, and clear-headed Scotchman and his three Canadian sons. Think of the business this one firm of American-Canadians nearly equalling the aggregate earnings of your two great systems of railway, whose combined capital reaches away up beyond \$300,000,000. These people are not alone in their success. A little more than forty years ago another Scotchman, named Carnegie, landed in New York, with his wife and two little boys. These constituted his whole earthly possessions. The father soon died, and the boys, at a tender age, had to shift as best they could to earn a living. A little over twenty years ago they went into the iron business. One of the two brothers recently died, and the other, Andrew Carnegie, now employs more than 7,000 men, and their business will this year very nearly equal the combined earning of both your combined Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railway systems. Do these Canadians or Scotchmen possess greater ability on American soil than on their own? Not a bit of it. They had greater opportunities. They have a larger community to which to sell, and you only need the community for customers, to come in for an equal share of their phenomenal success.

The conditions for the manufacture of iron in Canada are just as good as those in the United States, and with an open market in that country, there is no telling how soon, and to what extent Canada would prosper in her

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mining industries. Except in Nova Scotia and Vancouver, Canada does not possess the coal for the manufacture of iron, but coke can be brought as cheap from Connellsville, Ontario, as it is now taken to Chicago, Joliet, and Milwaukee. Canada possesses ore sufficient to supply all the furnaces in the whole United States. Why, then, is not the coke brought here and these mines worked? Because you have no market in which to sell your product. I could name eight steel companies in the United States whose aggregate employees and their families are equal to the whole population of the Northwest, from Pembroke to the Pacific Ocean. They are, Cleveland Rolling Mill Company, Carnegie Bros. & Co., Cambria Iron Co., Bethlehem Iron Company, Pennsylvania Steel Company, North Chicago Rolling Mill Company, Joliet Steel Company, and Scranton Steel Company. These companies have about 40,000 employees, and with their families constitute an army of 200,000 souls. These are only eight firms, and yet their marketable annual product is vastly more than the whole export trade of Canada. Why? Because they have a market for their product.

REGARDING CANADIAN COPPER ORE.

But in addition to iron, let me tell you something about Canadian copper, and how it might be developed with a free market in the States.

In the native deposits of copper, Canada ranks above any known country in the world. It is found in many places in Nova Scotia, and nature in that place has performed the curious freak of uniting the copper with the coal, so that within five miles of the town of Pictou, copper can be dug from the ground seven times as rich as the Calumet and Hecla mines (to which I will immediately refer), and containing with it more than enough coal to smelt it. It is not known that this combination exists in any other place in the world. If we could count Newfoundland as a part of the Dominion, which it seems likely she will be if Commercial Union is achieved, we can there measure off five thousand square miles of copper bearing territory. It is found at many places in the Province of Quebec, and near Sherbrooke large quantities are mined and shipped to New York, where the copper is refined and exported to England. The sulphur is converted into sulphuric acid, which is used by the famous Standard Oil Company in refining their oils. A very considerable amount of silver is also found in this ore. There are many places along the line of the Kingston and Pembroke road, or near to it, where valuable deposits of copper are found. A few miles north of Madoc there is a copper bearing vein more than one hundred feet in width. It is found in many places along the north shore of Lake Superior, and north of Algoma Mills, within a few miles of the

waters of the Georgian Bay, is the most wonderful copper bearing region known in the world. In fact, it may be safe to say, that this territory comprises as much copper, yes, many times more than as much as is known to exist in the whole United States. This region, which is made up of almost continuous copper bearing regions, is more than sixty miles in length, and crosses the Canadian Pacific Railway at Sugsbury, where it is now being opened and worked. On a great portion of the south end of this deposit, which is about forty or fifty miles south of Sugsbury, nickel exists in unlimited quantities, and if a market could be found for it, it is in such abundance that the artillery of both, Great Britain and the United States could be manufactured from it. When it is considered that the whole supply of nickel in the United States has been obtained from one small deposit, owned by one man, located near Philadelphia, and yielding only two per cent. of this metal, some idea of the relative values of the Canadian and American deposits may be had, when it is known that this whole territory carries from five to ten per cent. of nickel. There are hundreds of millions of tons of these ores plainly in sight and above ground, and I can look from my own piazza on Staten Island at the smoke ascending from the furnaces to which they are shipped from these points, to be reduced and refined. Why is not this work done and these furnaces built in Canada instead of opposite my own door at Staten Island? Because the United States government imposes a duty of three and a half cents per pound on the copper. This cuts you off from the United States market, which is a much higher one than the London market. Even the copper in the ore is taxed two and one-half cents per pound, and the refined product has to be shipped out of the country so as to obtain a rebate of the duty imposed when it is exported. Why cannot these millions upon millions of nickel ore be dug out and refined and sent to market? Because the United States government imposes a duty of fifteen cents on every pound sent into her territory. Take a single illustration. About twenty years ago a discovery was made, not by man, but by a hog rooting the soil up, disclosing copper bearing rocks in the upper peninsula of Michigan. A company was formed, with small beginnings, but gradually increasing until an investment of \$1,200,000 was put into the property, and from this investment this company has paid in dividends, upon this capital, the enormous sum of \$23,000,000; and its stock to-day is selling upon the market for \$22,000,000. Their ore yields only from 4½ to 5 per cent. of copper, and with their enormous machinery they crush 2,200 tons of this ore per day. They have the finest stationary machinery known anywhere upon the American con-

continent, a single engine alone costing over \$100,000. The cylinders of your largest locomotives are seventeen or eighteen inches in diameter; the cylinder of this enormous machine is large enough in diameter for the largest man in this crowd to walk erect into it. This is the famous Calumet and Hecla Company. Ten thousand people live in the town at this point, which is owned wholly by this company; and yet it does not possess the one-fortieth part of the enormous native resources in this wonderful Georgian Bay district, which is now but a howling wilderness, and can be bought from the government at \$2 per acre. When you think that the product of nickel alone through all this territory forms a percentage as high as the copper does in the Calumet and Hecla mines, and that it is a mineral stronger than steel, will last forever in the atmosphere or even without oxidizing, and cannot be affected by the strongest acids, it would seem that we were in danger of being called wicked and slothful servants, for either burying or allowing to be buried not only one talent, but these many millions of talents, not deep in the earth, but even naked and uncovered above ground. Supposing that these mines were worked as the single Calumet and Hecla Company worked their mines, what think you would be the changed condition of the 2,200 tons per day of this ore going over the Canada Pacific Railway? This single industry, worked to the extent that the Calumet and Hecla Company work theirs, would furnish ten trains per day of fifteen cars each, for the single item of carrying away ore. Think of all the additional business that would follow in the wake of this enormous output. Why does all this activity and life exist on the south side of the lake where the earth is made to yield up her treasure, and this death and solitude exist directly north of the lake in the regions where nature has been much more lavish than she has on the south side? Simply because they have a market with sixty millions of people, with no tariff walls surrounding the thirty-eight States which comprise that great Republic. Nothing under the sun but the enormous tariff wall which separates you from them prevents as great a scene of activity and profit on your side as upon their side of the line. I might point out to you many other localities all along the north shore of Lake Superior, and even in the far away British Columbia is copper enough to roof the houses of the world and all its railroad trains. I might say in this connection that the great Pennsylvania railroad is already getting ready to roof its cars with copper instead of sheet iron. Think of what an enormous increase this will make if all the railroads of this continent adopt this substance for roofing. Think of the enormous increase in the demand there will be for

your iron deposits when nearly all the railroads in the United States will adopt iron for railroad ties instead of wood. This has already commenced, and a number of miles of iron ties are laid in the neighborhood of Philadelphia by the Pennsylvania road, and within a few years at least the whole prairie section of the United States will all be laid with iron cross ties. Her cars will be roofed with copper, so will her houses, and you have the storehouses great enough to supply the demand for all these, even if there were no others known on the continent. What a mockery it is upon the gift of nature to these lands, upon which millions of tons of copper and millions of tons of iron are located, offered by the government for two dollars per acre, and even then purchasers not found. The same remarks are applicable to lead. Lead deposits miles in length are known to exist along the line of the Kingston and Pembroke road, the Canada Pacific, and the Central Ontario railways. Not a pound of these ores are being dug or smelted. The lead works at Kingston send forth no smoke to show a state of activity. They have no market in which to sell their product, because the tariff on lead going into the United States is more than half as high as the whole price of lead in the market.

OTHER MINERALS.

But it was not only in iron and copper that Canada, by nature, possessed enormous wealth, and yet, by policy, was rendered poor in this regard. Some development had taken place, but as a rule the bulk of the minerals was as yet almost untouched. In the matter of phosphates, which had already a free market, a very considerable development had taken place. For instance, the Union Mining Company, an American institution, owned two thousand acres up the Ottawa River, had spent \$100,000 in plant, and yet, after one year's operations, had declared a dividend of 30 per cent. This was but a sample of what might be done, and if there were a permanently free market in the United States, the result could not fail to be satisfactory. But aside from phosphates, such minerals as asbestos, antimony, graphite, gypsum, mica, salt, gold, and silver, exist in large and paying quantities; in addition there is arsenic, bismuth, cobalt, lithographic stones, and oxidized iron of every kind suitable for paint; materials for building, stones for grindstones, millstones, and marbles of various qualities; white quartz, silicious sandstone for making glass, soapstone, emery—every one of which, with proper development, should yield large returns, if a market existed for them, and if attention were given to their development by the introduction of foreign capital, enterprise, and a hopeful future.

THE EFFECT ON LUMBER.

Mr. Wiman having, he said, referred at such length to the effects of commercial union upon the agricultural products of the country, and the opportunities which it would give for enormous mineral development, felt that he could not do justice to other valuable assets which Canada possessed, and which would be enormously increased by an open market. He could not, however, forbear alluding to the lumber trade, which, perhaps, more than anything else would be benefitted by freedom of access to the near-by markets of the United States. Canada was blessed in her forests to a greater degree than almost any country in the world. It had been well said by A. T. Drummond that, excepting the Great Triangular Prairie east of the Rocky Mountains, the whole of Canada, up to the Northern limit of the growth of trees, presented one vast forest area, except where it had been cleared by the hand of man. Within this area there are ninety-five species of forest trees. There are sixty-five species in the province of Ontario, and in British Columbia alone there are thirty-five species of forest trees, including no less than nineteen members of the pine family. Canada possesses in her forests enormous wealth. Her natural market is that of the United States. The exaction of a tax of \$2 on every thousand feet of sawn lumber that enters this market, is a barrier which ought to be removed. It is not only a serious discrimination against Canada, but its mere existence is an impediment to the movement of trade which stands in the way of its activity. In view of the enormous growth of the United States, and the meagreness of their wood supply, it is of the utmost importance to them that Canada should be available for the purposes of giving them that which they need. It is said that in twenty-five years there will be hardly any timber left in the United States, and, as Mr. Butterworth has pointed out, protection there of their forests means their total destruction. One of the strongest arguments in favor of unrestricted reciprocity in the United States is found in the advocacy of the free admission of lumber. The enormous aggregation of population at the chief centres, the necessity for the creation of homes, and the heavy burden which, to the man in moderate circumstances, a tax of the kind imposes, makes the argument a strong one, that the freest admission of such an essential as lumber should be possible. The wealth of Canada in her forests would be therefore made much more available should the customs barrier be broken down, and the hope is entertained that, following this event, the opening up of the vast regions of timber land would yield not only a direct return, but result in the development of localities, the value of which was hitherto unknown,

because of their inaccessibility. The contiguity of Canada to such great lumber distributing points as Oswego, Albany, and New York on the one coast, and Portland and San Francisco on the other, will always give her a great advantage in the matter of lumber, while the vast means of communication from her upper lake ports to the treeless prairies of the West afford a provision as if Providence intended that there should be no barrier between the two countries in the interchange of this great and most valued product. Commercial union to-day would mean an increased value to Canada of every tree in all the vast forests within her border, and would result in a greater activity, a more certain development, and a larger profit, than any other event that could occur.

THE FISH WEALTH OF CANADA.

Few who live in the interior of Ontario have ever yet realized what an enormous element of wealth Canada possessed in her fisheries, and how inadequately this great source of profit has been cultivated. The farmer may plod the whole year long, and have his harvest season compressed within a few weeks; but the fisherman finds a harvest in the sea every day in the year. Canada has the greatest coast line of any country in the world, far exceeding that of the United States, and, of course, far exceeding that of any European country. Bounded by three oceans—the Atlantic, the Arctic and the Pacific—besides numerous inland seas, the Dominion has over 5,500 miles of sea-coast, washed by waters abounding in the most valuable fishes of all kinds. Setting aside the 3,000 miles of coast in British Columbia, and the numerous seas of the great Northwestern Territory, the old Provinces of Confederation have 2,500 miles of sea coast; and as the Hon. Peter Mitchell once said, the fisheries of Canada, as a national possession, were inestimable, and as a field of industry and enterprise they were inexhaustible. All the vast region referred to abounds in fish of the most valuable kind, and from the geographical location in the extreme North, will always continue to hold an enormous advantage. The Arctic current which washes the coast of Labrador, Newfoundland and Canada, chilling the atmosphere, and bearing on its bosom the huge ice argosies, is the source of the vast fish wealth which has been drawn upon for ages, and which promises to continue for ages to come. This cold current brings with it the food on which the fish thrive, and the supply is one that can never fail. These Arctic seas swarm with minute forms of life, which, according to Professor Hind, constitute in many places a living mass—a vast ocean of living alime. The all-pervading life which exists there affords the true solution of the problem of the source of food which gives sustenance to

countless millions of fish which swarm the northern seas. In many countries of the world, with far less value in their fisheries, great portions of communities are supplied with food from the sea, but our wealth in this regard has been but slightly relied upon. The United States possesses within itself very valuable fisheries, but not nearly so valuable as those of Canada, and if free fishing privileges were exchanged an enormous development would take place. The harvest of the sea awaits the hand of man. What would you think in this fair land if, when the harvest of wheat lay ready for the reaper, only one head out of five hundred head of wheat were cut and brought to market? It would seem a criminal waste; yet such is the condition in the vast fishing regions of Canada. The sustentation of life in the United States and in Canada would be rendered far more easy if the enormous contributions which the sea could offer were levied upon. The wealth of the sea is for man's use, and Canada could participate in that wealth to a greater degree than any other country in the world, if the markets of the United States were open to her. All that is needed is additional capital, additional enterprise, and an open market, such as the United States affords, and such a development would take place in the growth of the fishery interest as the world has never seen.

Mr. Wiman said it was impossible for him to do full justice to the greatness of the theme that was before them. He had hurriedly and in a very imperfect manner attempted to sketch the results of commercial union to several great products which Canada possessed. He had tried to show that the farming interest, by the opening up of the markets of the United States, would be greatly enhanced; by the development of our mineral resources the country vastly enriched; and by the growth in the lumber trade, and a larger attention given to the vast fishing possibilities which we possessed, an enormous increase secured to the country in her wealth-producing power. In the discussion which had taken place regarding commercial union there had been a great deal of cheap talk about patriotism; but as he understood it, the highest form of patriotism consisted in the love of one's country, and in seeking to advance its best and largest interests. It was impossible to conceive a higher patriotism than that which would develop in the largest degree the resources now latent, and impart to vast regions of country now desolate and inactive the greatest activity and development. It was impossible to conceive that true patriotism should forever stand in the way of the country's best interests. Love of British institutions, and of British connection, was in no respect imperilled by the largest development of Cana-

dian resources. No sentimental considerations should stand in the way of the largest and most comprehensive policy, which would soonest bring to Canada the greatest development of her enormous resources. When one considers the magnitude of the wealth which the Dominion possesses, the opportunity which the market at her door affords, and the ease with which these two could be brought together, it seems appalling that any slight consideration could stand in the way of the consummation of their union. It had been said that to obtain unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, discrimination would have to be enforced against English goods, and that commercial union was but a step to annexation. These two considerations form the strongest argument that can be found against the policy of freedom in trade on the North American Continent; but when one considers how vast are the interests on this continent to be developed, and how great are the benefits to the Dominion that this development would bring forth, the interests of the few manufacturers in Great Britain, likely to be affected by discrimination, are as a drop in the bucket. It would pay Canada well to guarantee the profit which every exporter of British goods had ever made for the balance of his life, rather than that there should be any impediment to a union, commercially speaking, between the two great countries of this continent. How many people do you suppose would be affected were Canada to admit United States manufactures free, and still exact a duty on English goods? Certainly the exporters to Canada of goods to be affected would not exceed a thousand in number. It might be doubted whether there are five hundred establishments in the whole of Great Britain that have a large interest in wares exported hither. From a pretty close relation with numerous manufacturing firms in England, Mr. Wiman said he believed that they would hail with delight any movement by which the Canadians would be benefitted, and if, by a commercial union with Canada, a reduction in the United States tariff was induced, the advantages would be manifestly far greater than the disadvantages resulting from discrimination in Canada. In other words, the power of absorption of British goods throughout the continent, by a readjustment of the tariff of the two countries, would be far greater than under the existing highly protective policy which prevails in Canada as against the goods of all nations. It was, however, hardly worth considering that the interests of British manufacturers and British merchants should stand as a permanent barrier against the free admission of American goods into Canada, provided that into the vast markets of the United States could be secured the free admission of every

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product which Canada possessed, and of every manufacture which she could produce. As in all great movements of this kind some serious results would no doubt follow, and injuries would have to be inflicted, but as the world moves on, progress must not be retarded by such considerations. A great railway line affects many a farm, cutting it often diagonally in two. The enforcement of a universal law affects many an interest, but that which achieves the greatest good to the greatest number is the standard by which all these matters are regulated. Commercial union with the United States would confer, in a greater degree, a greater good, upon a greater number, than almost anything it is possible to conceive of, while the advantages are so numerous, the possibilities so great, and the progress of nearly all material interests so manifest as resulting from it, that it seems difficult to regard with any seriousness the objections urged against it.

In a very imperfect way, Mr. Wiman said, he had attempted to sketch the advantages to Canada of free markets in the United States, and the free development in Canada that would result therefrom. He felt that he had done the subject scant justice, because of its magnitude. It was impossible on any one occasion to compress all that ought to be said, or could be said, regarding this vast question. If a great war were necessary to accomplish a purpose so vast as could be got by commercial union, a great war would be justified. England, many a time, has spent millions of treasure and thousands of lives, to accomplish an object far less comprehensive than would be accomplished by complete freedom of trade on the great continent of America. In the United States it has been said that, so far as advantage was concerned, the benefits which would accrue to them from free intercourse with Canada would, from a financial point of view, be far greater than that which resulted from retaining within the Union the Southern States, which, as you know, was done by a vast expenditure of blood and treasure. It has only just begun to dawn upon the minds of thinking people in the United States, that Canada was even a larger country than their own; that in variety of resource, in riches of all kinds, she possessed the potentialities of a growth quite as great, if not greater, than of their own country. To participate in that development, and to aid it by every legitimate means, would be a great advantage to the United States. Canada was in a certain sense a treasure house from which could be drawn just the things that the United States most needed, and which could be made in the highest degree contributory to her progress. If, as *Grip* in his last splendid cartoon suggests, the genius of the age could sweep away the long line of custom houses between the two countries, and they could be

made one, so far as trade was concerned, what a progress the world would make: there would be no feeling that money was leaving the United States when it came to Canada. The ebb and flow of commerce would bring it, or twice its value, back again. That Canada, with a great ready market, would produce in ten years five times as much as she now yields no one doubts. If her fields and farms were put to her largest point of production; if her fisheries and her forests were made to yield the proportion to the commerce of the continent which their value bears to the total wealth of the world; if her mines, the giant power that is now asleep, awoke to the wealth-producing force which they possess; and if our manufacturers could shake off the timid fears which now encompass them, and, standing up like men, meet the incoming tide of prosperity in proper spirit, and seek advantage in the larger markets afforded them—if all these elements could be thus developed, what better prospect need one desire for one's country. Giving to the United States, as you then would, five or ten times the value that you now give them, there would also be an absorptive power of what they have to offer. Their manufactures would, of course, find a market here; their merchants would trade in this direction, and they would seek, by every means that they possessed, to develop their commerce in the northern part of the continent, just as they are now doing in the western and southern portions of it. Of course, it will be said that if the Yankee manufacturer and the Yankee merchant are let free into Canada he will crowd out the Canadian manufacturer and the Canadian merchant. Well, all that need be said in reply to that is that if Canadians cannot hold their own when the conditions are all equal, they don't deserve the name of Canadians. It's the first time in the history of this mighty country that such an admission has been made. If the pluck and spirit which conquered Canada has departed from it, it is time we introduced some new material. If the sons of the sturdy backwoodsman, who attacked the giant forests and hewed out his way from poverty and hardship to comfort and prosperity amid such tremendous disadvantages, are not now able to compete with these Yankees on everything they undertake, then it is time to build a high wall and keep out any body that can teach her people something else than how to grow rich by trading jack-knives with each other, and how to rise to be a great people except by lifting yourselves up by your boot straps. The talk that any class of Canadians cannot hold their own against any other people on the broad face of the earth finds no echo in the minds of that vast host of our fellow-countrymen who have already found a home

in the United States. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians in the United States find no difficulty in holding their own side by side with the Yankees. As workmen, as mechanics, as skilled laborers, as railroad men, telegraph operators, in positions of trust and responsibility, and occupying the very best places in the land, you find every here and there the native born Canadian. He is always respected, always self-respecting, sometimes somewhat assertive, but always self-reliant, and abundantly able to hold his own in a fair field. Have you ever realized what an enormous number of Canadians there are who have already sought the benefits of commercial union with the United States. It may be doubted if in the history of any country—especially a young country—so large a proportion of the total population has in so short a time sought a home outside of it. Here are some figures by the census showing the enormous leaps and bounds in the increase of the Canadian element in the neighboring Republic:

Census of 1860—Canadians in U. S.	249,970
Census of 1870—	493,464
Census of 1880—	717,157
Census of 1885—Estimated	950,000

It may be readily believed that now, in 1887, fully one million of our own people have left Canada, and have taken up their abode in a foreign land—a million out of five millions—what a tremendous proportion for a country possessing all the advantages that Canada possesses, to which the most desperate efforts are being made to attract immigration. Surely there is something wrong when one recalls the fact that notwithstanding the enormous expenditures which have been made, and the heavy burden of taxation which all in Canada have to carry, that the best and most promising portion of the population seek a home and a future elsewhere. If commercial union could accomplish nothing else than keep our young men at home, it would be a boon of the greatest magnitude. For there is not a mother in this vast assemblage but dreads the day when her boy, her precious boy, will look with longing eyes across the border. What is the future on the farm for the little blue-eyed baby that looks up into its mother's face. The vista of the future to the mother, if the little one is a boy, that he will at best inherit his father's fate. She knows how hard the father has had to work to get them a living; how early and how late he has had to toil to make ends meet; how dreadful has been the burden of the store debt, getting larger every year; and with what foreboding the yearly interest on the mortgage is contemplated. She, too, well knows how careful she has to be with every dollar she expends, and with what frugality and closeness they all have to live in order to leave her boy any

patrimony in the future. And the dear mother knows full well that while such a struggle impends, the attractions of the great market across the border will have to be resisted to retain her child beside her, to have him to soothe her declining years, and repay, by his steady support, in her old age, for her devotion to him in his childhood years. But, if the little one that lays in her lap is a little girl—if the clear blue eyes of the little baby girl look inquiringly into the mother's anxious face, what fate does she read there? Why, if her brothers and half the boys of the neighborhood are leaving the country, how hopeless is her life likely to be. The chances for the baby girl are immensely lessened for a useful womanhood. The sweet love that brightens life may never come to her. The delicious odors of the new-mown hay, of the sweet-scented clover, of the forest flowers, may never be associated with that most joyous part of life, when love and betrothal throws a halo over all the world. The budding womanhood will wait in vain for the sturdy farmer boy who should win her; and the life that should be full of joy, of noble companionship, may go out with loneliness and sadness. Mothers must think of these things, and with a far-seeing vision which a mother's love will prompt, should take an interest in this great movement, the effect of which would be to keep the boys at home, and thus secure the happiness and the future of the sweet girls of this fair land. God bless them all, and help forward the good cause that will fulfil the mother's holy prayer for contentment and happiness of those so near to her. No calamity greater can happen to a community than not to keep the young men at home; and any statesmanship that results in making Canada less attractive to her young men than the neighboring nation is a failure, no matter how brilliant it may be in other respects. Nothing would so much tend to keep her young men at home as unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. Free markets for Canadian products in the constellation of commonwealths just over the border would bring such a reward for effort here that success and contentment would soon take the place of failure and discontent. Talk of patriotism—prate of loyalty—why, he is the only patriot that seeks his country's good—he is only truly loyal who seeks the enrichment of the vast army of producers that make up the wealth of Canada; and if this can be accomplished without making any change in his allegiance—if, under the British flag, with a sturdy love for British traditions, he can accomplish the revolution that opens up the markets of a vast continent, in the name of all that is great and all that is good, why should he not be permitted to do so?

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